

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 01840 080539Z

ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 ARA-10 EA-10 NEA-11

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00

PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00

HA-05 ACDA-12 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /123 W

-----039884 080542Z /17

O 080430Z MAY 78 ZFF-4

FM USMISSION USUN NEWYORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1211

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN NIACT IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE UNN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE UNN

/AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE UNN

AMEMBASSY LASOS IMMEDIATE UNN

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE UNN

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE UNN

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE UNN

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE UNN

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 1840

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS:PORG, OTRA, WA, SF

SUBJ: NAMIBIA: POSTPONEMENT OF TALKS

REF: USUN 1839

1. IN LIGHT OF THE MAGNITUDE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN
RAID INTO ANGOLA AND SWAPO'S DECISION TO POSTPONE
TALKS, IT IS LIKELY THAT KAUNDA MAY BE LESS INCLINED
THAN BEFORE TO GO AHEAD WITH HIS IDEA OF CALLING A
MEETING OF THE FRONTLINE STATES ON NAMIBIA. HE MAY
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 USUN N 01840 080539Z

NOW CONCLUDE, AS SOME OF THE AFRICANS HERE ARE BEGINNING
TO ARGUE, THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN RAID MAKES IT NECESSARY
TO ENTERTAIN SOME OF THE CHANGES, SUCH AS THE LOCATION
OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN RESIDUAL FORCE, WHICH SWAPO HAS
ADVOCATED BUT WHICH OTHER AFRICANS HAVE TENDED TO
DOWNPLAY IN IMPORTANCE. IN ADDITION, KAUNDA AND HIS
COLLEAGUES MAY NOW BE LESS INCLINED TO ACCEPT SOUTH

AFRICA'S GOOD FAITH IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL AND BE MORE RECEPTIVE TO SWAPO'S ADVOCACY OF MORE CLEAR-CUT POWERS FOR THE UNITED NATIONS. FINALLY, THERE MAY BE SOME TENDENCY TO ADVOCATE A SLOWER PACE OF TALKS, IF ONLY TO SHOW SOUTH AFRICA THAT SWAPO AND AFRICA CANNOT BE BOMBED INTO AGREEMENT.

2. THESE ARGUMENTS NOTWITHSTANDING, THE NEED TO REACH A SETTLEMENT IS NO LESS URGENT THAN BEFORE SOUTH AFRICA'S ILL-CONCEIVED ACTIONS. ACCORDINGLY, WE BELIEVE YOU SHOULD CONTACT KAUNDA URGENTLY, INFORM HIM OF SWAPO'S DECISION (YOU MAY GIVE HIM A COPY OF NUJOMA'S LETTER TO AMBASSADOR YOUNG IF YOU BELIEVE IT HELPFUL), AND URGE KAUNDA TO GO AHEAD WITH HIS PLANS TO CALL AN IMMEDIATE MEETING OF THE FRONT LINE STATES. YOU SHOULD DRAW UPON THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

WE AGREE THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN ACTION WAS ILL-CONCEIVED AND IS TO BE CONDEMNED. WE HAVE EXPRESSED THIS VIEW PUBLICLY AND DIRECTLY TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS.

WE HOPE, HOWEVER, THAT SWAPO AND THE AFRICAN STATES WILL NOT ALLOW THIS ACTION, WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN CONCEIVED BY THOSE WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA WHO DO NOT WISH A SETTLEMENT ALONG THE LINES WE HAVE PRO-CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 01840 080539Z

POSED, TO SPOIL THE CHANCE FOR A SETTLEMENT WHICH IS NOW WITHIN REACH.

WE DOUBT THAT WE WILL AGAIN SOON COME AS CLOSE TO A SETTLEMENT AS WE ARE NOW. ON THE CONTRARY, UNLESS WE REACH A SETTLEMENT, THE CYCLE OF REPRESSION AND VIOLENCE, OF WHICH SOUTH AFRICA'S ACTION IS BUT THE LATEST BUT WHICH WILL SURELY BE FOLLOWED BY RETALIATORY ACTION BY SWAPO, WILL INCREASE IN FREQUENCY AND SCALE AND MAY ENGULF THE WHOLE OF THE REGION. ON THE OTHER HAND, A SETTLEMENT NOW MAY HAVE POSITIVE IMPLICATIONS FOR RHODESIA, ZAMBIA, ANGOLA, AND EVEN FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

THE IMPORTANT THING IS TO GET AN AGREEMENT WHICH PUTS 5,000 TO 6,000 UN PERSONNEL ON THE GROUND IN NAMIBIA. WHATEVER SOUTH AFRICA'S INTENTIONS, A UN PRESENCE OF THIS SCALE WOULD INEVITABLY SHIFT THE BALANCE TOWARD AN ACCEPTABLE OUTCOME.

WE BELIEVE THAT ONLY ONE MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE ISSUE, WALVIS BAY, CURRENTLY STANDS IN THE WAY OF

SETTLEMENT AND WE WERE PREPARED TO DISCUSS WITH SWAPO
SOME POSITIVE SUGGESTIONS ON THE REMAINING QUESTION.

WE ASSUME THAT NUJOMA AND HIS GROUP WILL
BE IN LUSAKA SHORTLY. THEY WILL MAKE SOME CRUCIAL
DECISIONS IN CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH ARE UNDERSTANDABLY
EMOTIONAL BUT WHERE COOL HEADS MUST PREVAIL.

IT WOULD BE MOST USEFUL IF KAUNDA WOULD
GO AHEAD URGENTLY WITH HIS PLAN TO HOLD A MEETING
OF THE FRONTLINE STATES ON NAMIBIA.

DEPARTMENT CONCURS WITH THE ABOVE.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 USUN N 01840 080539Z

3. USUN HAS NOT HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS WHAT
FOLLOWS WITH THE DEPARTMENT OR WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF
THE FIVE. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT A USEFUL MEETING OF THE
FRONTLINE, IF IT OCCURS, WILL NEED OUR SUBSTANTIVE
INPUT, PARTICULARLY ON WALVIS BAY. WE CAN PROVIDE
THE NECESSARY BRIEFING MATERIALS. IT MIGHT BE MORE
DESIRABLE TO SEND SOMEONE FROM NEW YORK. WHAT WOULD
BE THE LIKELY REACTION?

4. SUGGESTED PRESS GUIDANCE WILL BE PROVIDED AS SOON
AS POSSIBLE.

LEONARD

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